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LONDON 03569

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1815  
INFO RUEHDD/NATO COLLECTIVE  
RUFHDB/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 4942  
RUFHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA 7234  
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0877  
ZEN/AMCONSUL EDINBURGH (POUCH)  
ZEN/AMCONSUL BELFAST (POUCH)  
RUDDVFA/HQ3AF RAF MILDENHALL UK  
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC//DB-3B//  
RUDDGHA/USNMR SHAPE BE//INTAFF//  
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//POLAD//  
RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//POLAD//  
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VIENNA ALSO FOR CSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, OREP, UK  
SUBJECT: KINNOCK TELLS CODEL BYRD GOAL OF DE-NUCLEARIZED  
- EUROPE MAY NEVER BE REACHED

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

## SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION

2. BRITISH LABOR PARTY LEADER NEIL KINNOCK TOOK SOME STEPS AWAY FROM HIS PREVIOUS STANDS IN FAVOR OF UNILATERAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AT A FEBRUARY 8 LUNCH DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR PRICE AND CODEL BYRD. BUT KINNOCK REMAINS DUBIOUS ABOUT NUCLEAR FORCE MODERNIZATION AND FAVORS A "THIRD ZERO" ON SNF. UNDER QUESTIONING FROM THE SENATORS, KINNOCK ADVOCATED A STEP-BY-STEP NEGOTIATING PROCESS TOWARD THE GOALS OF A NON-NUCLEAR BRITAIN AND EUROPE, BUT SUGGESTED WITHOUT ANXIETY THAT THESE GOALS MIGHT NEVER BE ACHIEVED. THE OPPOSITION LEADER:

-- ENDORSED THE INF TREATY;

-- ENDORSED THE ELIMINATION OF "BATTLEFIELD" NUCLEAR WEAPONS (DEFINED AS ALL SYSTEMS BELOW 500 KM IN RANGE) BUT ADVOCATED REACHING AGREEMENTS ON ASYMMETRICAL CONVENTIONAL REDUCTIONS BEFORE RIDDING EUROPE OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS;

-- CLAIMED THAT HIS POSITION HAD ALWAYS BEEN TO INVOLVE THE UK IN "EVENTS LEADING TO" MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS AND THAT "QUASI-RELIGIOUS UNILATERALISTS" MAKE HIM "BLOODY NERVOUS";

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-- STATED THAT A NUCLEAR-FREE BRITAIN "IS A GOAL I'D STILL LIKE TO SEE," BUT CONSIDERS THIS IDEA "A MATTER FOR DISCUSSION, NOT A PRESCRIPTION;"

-- WAS STUMPED WHEN ASKED HOW HIS CONDITION THAT MODERNIZATION SHOULD NOT BE "COMPENSATION" FOR INF COULD BE VERIFIED.

3. THE FRIENDLY AND INFORMATIVE EXCHANGE AMONG KINNOCK, SIX OF HIS SENIOR LABOR PARTY COLLEAGUES, AND THE FIVE SENATORS POINTED UP SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES REMAINING BETWEEN THE LABOR POSITION AND THAT OF SENIOR U.S. DEMOCRATS. KINNOCK IS TRYING TO MOVE HIS ARGUMENTS INTO THE ARMS CONTROL MAINSTREAM -- ALBEIT WITHOUT ENDORSING THE FACT OR DESIRABILITY OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION

4. A LUNCH AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE FEBRUARY 8 BROUGHT TOGETHER SENATORS BYRD, PELL, NUNN, BOREN AND WARNER AND LABOR PARTY LEADER NEIL KINNOCK. KINNOCK'S DEPUTY ROY HATTERSLEY, MP'S JOHN CUNNINGHAM, GORDON BROWN, DEREK FOSTER AND MARTIN O'NEILL AND KINNOCK AIDE CHARLES CLARKE ALSO ATTENDED. DESPITE THE LARGE GROUP, A LIVELY DISCUSSION OF DEFENSE POLICY AND EUROPEAN SECURITY LASTED OVER AN HOUR, WITH KINNOCK STAYING ON AN EXTRA HALF HOUR DESPITE A COMMITMENT TO CHAIR A MEETING AT WESTMINSTER.

INF, START

5. ASKED BY AMBASSADOR PRICE FOR HIS VIEW OF THE INF TREATY AND WHAT SHOULD COME NEXT, KINNOCK ENDORSED THE U.S.-SOVIET INF AGREEMENT WITHOUT RESERVATION, WELCOMED PROGRESS TOWARD A START TREATY, AND ARGUED THAT MARGARET THATCHER TOOK THE SAME POSITIONS ONLY BECAUSE AFTER 50 PERCENT NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS BY THE SUPERPOWERS, THE BRITISH INDEPENDENT DETERRENT WOULD ASSUME GREATER MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE.

STEP-BY-STEP TOWARD SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

6. LOOKING AHEAD, KINNOCK SAW "A DECADE OF CONVENTIONAL REDUCTIONS" AND ADVOCATED PARALLEL NEGOTIATION LEADING TO THE ELIMINATION OF BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WHICH HE DECLARED AS SYSTEMS OF A RANGE LESS THAN 500 KM. KINNOCK SAID HE

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BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; PARIS ALSO FOR OECD;  
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, MARR, OREP, UK

SUBJECT: KINNOCK TELLS CODEL BYRD GOAL OF DE-NUCLEARIZED BELIEVES THAT FOR BUDGET AND OTHER REASONS THE SOVIETS ARE GENUINE IN LOOKING FOR ACCOMMODATION ON MILITARY QUESTIONS WITH THE WEST. NATO, HOWEVER, SHOULD REJECT "INDISCRIMINATE REDUCTIONS" AND SET SPECIFIC ARMS CONTROL OBJECTIVES. "IF WE GET TO A DE-NUCLEARIZED EUROPE -- AND I'M NOT SURE WE EVER WILL -- IT WILL BE A STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS," KINNOCK REMARKED.

PUT ASYMMETRY TO THE TEST

7. ALTHOUGH KINNOCK BELIEVES "THERE IS LESS IMBALANCE THAN SOMETIMES PROTESTED," THE LABOR LEADER SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD TEST THE SOVIETS' INTEREST IN ASYMMETRICAL CONVENTIONAL REDUCTIONS WHERE THERE ARE DIFFERENCES. WHEN SENATOR BOREN ASKED WHETHER THE KREMLIN'S GOAL WOULDN'T BE TO

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"STAMPEDE THE ALLIES INTO DE-NUCLEARIZATION," KINNOCK RESPONDED THAT THE WEST MUST NOT BE STAMPEDED AND THAT WE NEED TO DEAL WITH CONVENTIONAL REDUCTIONS BEFORE TOTALLY DE-NUCLEARIZING EUROPE.

UNILATERALISTS MAKE HIM "BLOODY NERVOUS"

8. LATER IN THE DISCUSSION KINNOCK STATED THAT A NUCLEAR-FREE BRITAIN IS MERELY "A GOAL I'D STILL LIKE TO SEE." UK-BASED F-111'S WOULD BE "SUBJECT TO FUTURE NEGOTIATION." SENATOR PELL INTERRUPTED TO ASK WHETHER THESE POSITIONS WEREN'T DIFFERENT FROM THOSE KINNOCK TOOK THE LAST TIME THE TWO MET (IN LATE 1986). KINNOCK REPLIED THAT THE CHANGE CAME "PRIOR TO THE LAST ELECTION." LABOR ANNOUNCED AT THAT TIME THAT U.S. CRUISE MISSILES COULD STAY IN BRITAIN AS LONG AS INF NEGOTIATIONS HELD PROMISE OF THEIR ULTIMATE REMOVAL. KINNOCK OBSERVED THAT HE RECEIVED NOT A SINGLE LETTER OBJECTING TO THE POLICY CHANGE. (COMMENT: THAT CHANGE DID NOT, IN FACT, ALTER LABOR'S POSITION ON THE REMOVAL OF U.S. F-111'S, CONTRARY TO KINNOCK'S IMPLICATION. END COMMENT.)

9. WARMING TO THE SUBJECT, KINNOCK DECLARED THAT "QUASI-RELIGIOUS UNILATERALISTS" MADE HIM "BLOODY NERVOUS." IF ONE WERE TO GO THROUGH THE BORING PROCESS OF DIGGING UP HIS OLD SPEECHES -- NEARLY AS BORING AS DIGGING UP OTHER PEOPLE'S SPEECHES, KINNOCK CRACKED, IN ONE OF A SERIES OF HUMOROUS REFERENCES TO SENATOR BIDEN'S TRAVAIL -- ONE WOULD FIND THAT MAKING THE UK "PART OF EVENTS LEADING TOWARD" MULTILATERAL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS HAD "ALWAYS" BEEN HIS VIEW. HIS GOAL AS PRIME MINISTER, KINNOCK SAID, WOULD BE A UK-SOVIET BILATERAL AGREEMENT ELIMINATING BRITISH NUCLEAR FORCES IN EXCHANGE FOR SOVIET CONCESSIONS. UK TRIDENTS WOULD BE CONVERTED TO HUNTER-KILLER SUBS.

CREDIBILITY WITHIN THE ALLIANCE

10. KINNOCK WAS ALSO ASKED HIS VIEWS ON FRANCO-GERMAN MILITARY COOPERATION. HE RESPONDED THAT HE TAKES A RELAXED VIEW, SINCE THE GERMANS WANT FRENCH COMMITMENTS TO REINFORCE THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN GERMANY, WHILE THE FRENCH GOAL IS TO REPLACE THE U.S. A EURO-WEAPONS SYSTEM, KINNOCK SAID, WOULD BE A WASTE OF MONEY AND WOULD SERVE ONLY FRENCH INTERESTS. KINNOCK ALSO EXPRESSED ALARM AT WHAT HE CONSIDERS BRITAIN'S DETERIORATING CONVENTIONAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIANCE. HE SAID THAT TRIDENT WILL TAKE UP 30 PERCENT OF THE NEW EQUIPMENT BUDGET, CUTTING RESOURCES FOR NATO, AND THAT THE 11,000 SOLDIERS BRITAIN HAS IN NORTHERN IRELAND COULD OTHERWISE SERVE IN THE BRITISH ARMY OF THE RHINE.

11. DEPUTY PARTY DEFENSE SPOKESMAN MARTIN O'NEILL MP ADDED THAT IF A LABOR-LED BRITAIN WANTS TO NEGOTIATE IN THE ALLIANCE FOR CHANGES IN STRATEGY, "WE MUST DO SO FROM A POSITION OF CREDIBILITY WITHIN NATO" BASED ON UNDIMINISHED COMMITMENT TO A STRONG MILITARY ROLE IN DEFENSE OF THE WEST.

12. KINNOCK'S LACK OF SOPHISTICATION ON MANY SECURITY ISSUES WAS APPARENT, HOWEVER. HE CLAIMED NOT TO OPPOSE NATO

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MODERNIZATION PER SE, BUT MADE CLEAR HE PUTS ELIMINATING RATHER

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THAN MODERNIZING SNF OF UP TO 500 KILOMETER RANGE AS A HIGH PRIORITY. IN A SIGNED OP-ED PIECE IN THE "TIMES" FEBRUARY 12, KINNOCK RESTATED THAT THEME AND ACCUSED THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT OF "SEEKING 'COMPENSATION' FOR THE INF TREATY BY 'MODERNIZING' NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE." THE LABOR LEADER SEEMED UNABLE TO FATHOM SENATOR WARNER'S QUESTION ABOUT HOW ONE WOULD VERIFY "NON-COMPENSATION" WHEN, FOR INSTANCE, RE-TARGETING OF STRATEGIC SYSTEMS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY BE ONE FORM OF COMPENSATING FOR THE REMOVAL OF LAND-BASED INF, PARTICULARLY ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION. IN THE SAME "TIMES" ARTICLE, KINNOCK STATED HIS PREFERENCES FOR "NON-OFFENSIVE DEFENSE" WITH THE NUCLEAR "COMPONENT OF OUR STRATEGY (AT) THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL."

COMMENT: "FRINGING" ON DEFENSE

13. AT ONE POINT KINNOCK SAID TO THE SENATORS THAT LIKE A GOOD RUGBY PLAYER, THE UK WAS "FRINGING" THE SCRUM, WAITING TO SEE WHERE THE BALL COMES OUT. KINNOCK'S OWN FRINGING ON DEFENSE ISSUES STILL HAS A COUPLE OF YEARS TO PLAY OUT. HIS REMARKS SHOWED THAT HE IS WRESTLING WITH THE DILEMMA OF GIVING LABOR'S DEFENSE POLICY A MORE PRAGMATIC, NON-IDEOLOGICAL CAST WHILE REMAINING TRUE TO HIS OWN DEEP-FELT OPPOSITION TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND DISCOMFORT WITH NUCLEAR DETERRENCE. AT THIS POINT, HE IS MAKING SOME RIGHT TURNS IF NOT ABOUT-FACES IN THE PRESENTATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE POSITIONS HE DEFENDED (DESPITE WHAT HE IMPLIED) THROUGHOUT THE 1987 ELECTION. BY PUTTING A NUCLEAR-FREE BRITAIN, EUROPE AND WORLD IN THE REALM OF DISTANT GOALS AND SUGGESTING THAT CONVENTIONAL STABILITY -- WHICH MAY TAKE A DECADE -- SHOULD COME FIRST, KINNOCK IS TURNING HIS ATTENTION TO ISSUES THE REST OF NATO -- AND THE BRITISH ELECTORATE -- MAY ACTUALLY FACE IN THE 1990'S.

14. THE SENATORS' QUESTIONS AND TESTING OF KINNOCK'S ARGUMENTS REVEALED THAT THE LABOR LEADER'S GRASP OF DEFENSE ISSUES WAS AT TIME LESS SOLID THAN HIS GIFT OF GAB. ON A PERSONAL LEVEL, THE CHEMISTRY BETWEEN THE LABOR LEADERSHIP AND THE CODEL WAS EXCELLENT, AND KINNOCK (WHO CONVINCED SENIOR COLLEAGUES TO CANCEL OTHER ENGAGEMENTS IN ORDER TO ATTEND THE LUNCH) RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF A SERIOUS DIALOGUE ON DEFENSE WITH THE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP IF HE IS TO HAVE ANY CREDIBILITY ON SECURITY ISSUES. END COMMENT.

15. THIS CABLE WAS DRAFTED AFTER THE CODEL'S DEPARTURE FROM LONDON.

16. MOSCOW MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. PRICE

END OF MESSAGE

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